

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0557
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO
AMCONSUL SAO PAULO

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 3 BRASILIA 2020

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SUBJECT: PRESS AND OFFICIAL REACTION TO US/BRAZIL HUMAN RIGHTS
DISPUTE (MARCH 13-14)

1. SUMMARY. PRESS AND OFFICIAL REACTION TO HUMAN RIGHTS DISPUTE
EBBED SOMEWHAT MARCH 13-14, WITH MUCH OF FOCUS ON US PRESS
COVERAGE OF DELIVERY OF HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTS TO CONGRESS. WIDE
USE WAS MADE OF PURPORTED EXCERPTS FROM BRAZIL REPORT, CRITICAL
IN TONE, CARRIED BY WASHINGTON POST. WEEKLY MAGAZINE VEJA
HIT STANDS MARCH 14 WITH PURPORTED FULL TEXT OF REPORT, WHICH
IN FACT APPEARED TO BE EARLY DRAFT BY DEPARTMENT CONSIDERABLY
MORE CRITICAL THAN FINAL VERSION. JBUSMC CHAIRMAN ADMIRAL
JANNUZZI REPORTEDLY AFFIRMED THAT JBUSMC WILL REMAIN UNAFFECTED.
JORNAL DO BRASIL REPORTED PRESIDENT, BEFORE TAKING DECISION,
WAS ASSURED BY FINANCE AND PLANNING MINISTERS THAT US WAS NOT
LIKELY TO RETALIATE IN ECONOMIC FIELD. CONGRESSIONAL AND EDI-
TORIAL COMMENT WAS MODEST, BUT WITH CONTINUED TENDENCY NOW TO
EXAMINE MERITS OF HUMAN RIGHTS SIDE OF QUESTION. O ESTADO
EDITORIALIZED THAT GEISEL HAD DENOUNCED ACCORD TO CAPITALIZE
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ON POLITICAL EFFECTS OF REBIRTH OF NATIONALISM, AND WARNED
AGAINST PRE-EMPTION OF NATIONALIST FERVOR BY UNDERSIRABLE
POLITICAL FORCES. END SUMMARY.

2. PRESS AND OFFICIAL REACTION TO US/BRAZIL DISPUTE OVER
HUMAN RIGHTS AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE EBBED NOTICEABLY DURING
MARCH 13-14, WITH BULK OF DAILY PRESS ATTENTION ON SUBJECT

DEVOTED TO WASHINGTON POST AND NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLES OF MARCH 12 CONCERNING DELIVERY OF HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTS TO CONGRESS. POST WAS REPORTED AS TERMING DOCUMENT ON BRAZIL "MILD IN TONE" AND FREE OF JUDGMENTS. HOWEVER, ALL PAPERS DREW ON PURPORTED EXCERPTS CONTAINED IN POST ARTICLE, PRINCIPALLY THE SENTENCES, "ABUSES CONTINUE TO OCCUR, SOME OF WHICH APPEAR ATTRIBUTABLE TO ACTIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT," AND "THE THEAT OF DISMISSAL SEEMS TO BE THE ONLY REAL INHIBITION TO MISTREATMENT OF ALLEGED SUBVERSIVES," TOGETHER WITH REPORTED CONCLUSION THAT POLITICAL DETAINEES DO NOT RECEIVE FAIR TRIALS. (AS DEPARTMENT IS AWARE, NONE OF THESE STATMENTS APPEARS IN THE FINAL REPORT). JORNAL DO BRASIL PROVIDED WHAT IT SAID WAS NYT'S BRIEF RESUME OF REPORT, WHICH THOUGH CONTAINING NO SERIOUS ERRORS, WAS NO MORE THAN BRIEF COMPENDIUM OF THE MOST CRITICAL ASPECTS OF DOCUMENT. MARCH 16 ISSUE OF WEEKLY MAGAZINE VEJA WHICH HIT STANDS MARCH 13 CONTAINS PURPORTED FULL TEXT OF REPORT, WHICH INCLUDES PASSAGES IDENTICAL TO THE EXCERPTS CARRIED BY POST. VEJA VERSION IS CLEARLY AN EARLY DEPARTMENT DRAFT, AND IS CONSIDERABLY MORE CRITICAL IN BOTH TONE AND SUBSTANCE THAN FINAL REPORT, HOWEVER, O ESTADO REPORTED CONFIRMATION FROM "OFFICIAL SOURCES" THAT GOB WILL NOT RESPOND TO REPORT WHILE ITS RELEASE REMAINS UNOFFICIAL.

3. PRESS ATTENTION WAS ALSO GIVEN STATEMENT BY SENATOR HUMPHREY THAT GOB DECISION TO DENOUNCE MILITARY ASSISTANCE AGREEMENT WAS "UNPLEASANT," AND THAT HE WILL SEEK APPOINTMENT THIS WEEK WITH AMBASSADOR PINHEIRO TO REQUEST LATTER'S INTERVENTION WITH GOB TO RECONSIDER DECISION. ALONGSIDE HUMPHREY'S COMMENTS, PAPERS QUOTED UNCLASSIFIED

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SEN. KENNEDY AS BEING "UNCONCERNED" WITH GOB DECISION, AND DECLARING THAT "BRAZIL'S RECORD IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS TRAGIC. IT IS AMONG THE WORST, ALONG WITH THOSE OF ARGENTINA AND CHILE." SEVERAL PAPERS REPORTED THE MONDALE STATEMENT OF MARCH 12 REAFFIRMING CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S PRIORITY COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS.

4. O GLOBO REPORTED STATEMENTS TO PRESS MARCH 12 BY ADMIRAL JANNUZZI, CHAIRMAN OF JBUSMC. JANNUZZI POINTED OUT DECLINING GOB USE OF CREDITS UNDER THE AGREEMENT, USING AS PRIME EXAMPLE THE ARMY, WHICH HAS NOT USED THEM DURING LAST FOUR YEARS. HE ALSO REPORTEDLY DECLARED THAT JBUSMC IS BASED ON SEPARATE ACCORD DATED SEPTEMBER 1955 AND WILL CONTINUE ITS FUNCTIONS, NOTWITHSTANDING END OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE AGREEMENT. JORNAL DO BRASIL IN BACKGROUND PIECE ANALYZED HISTORY OF ACCORD AND ITS DECLINING IMPORTANCE IN RECENT YEARS DUE TO REDUCED CREDIT USE BY GOB (IN PART BECAUSE OF US CONDITIONS PLACED ON ASSISTANCE) AND ON GROWING BRAZILIAN

MILITARY SELF-SUFFICIENCY. ARTICLE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT THERE HAS BEEN CRITICISM IN MILITARY CIRCLES OF BRAZILIAN DIPLOMACY FOR NOT HAVING FOLLOWED ADEQUATELY THE ADDITION OF HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTING REQUIREMENTS TO EXISTING LEGISLATION, THEREBY FAILING TO GIVE GOB DUE WARNING OF THE NEW RISKS INVOLVED.

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5. IN LENGTHY COVER STORY, "THE US-BRAZIL CONFRONTATION," MARCH 13 VEJA SEES THE BRAZILIAN DECISION TO REFUSE AID AND DENOUNCE THE AGREEMENT, WHICH MILITARY LEADERS HAD PREVIOUSLY CONCLUDED WAS OBSOLETE, AS A STEP TO GAIN A HIGH DEGREE OF COHESION AROUND THE PRESIDENT IN MILITARY CIRCLES AND IN PUBLIC OPINION, BEGINNING WITH A DISPLAY OF FIRMNESS AGAINST "UNDUE FOREIGN INTERFERENCE" IN A MATTER OF BRAZIL'S EXCLUSIVE COMPETENCE AND US ABUSE OF BRAZIL'S NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY. VEJA CLAIMS GOB'S MAIN WORRY NOW IS THAT CONGRESS WILL PUBLISH THE HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT, SINCE, ACCORDING TO AN UNNAMED GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL, IT WOULD HARM BRAZIL'S IMAGE ABROAD, THUS REDUCING THE GOOD WILL OF EUROPEANS TO AID BRAZIL ON THE QUESTION OF THE NUCLEAR ACCORD. THE SAME OFFICIAL WAS REPORTED AS ADDING THAT RELEASE OF THE REPORT COULD ALSO PREJUDICE THE GOVERNMENT'S MOBILIZATION OF INTERNAL PUBLIC OPINION IN SUPPORT OF THE ACCORD. VEJA CONCLUDES THAT THE PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE OF THE BRAZILIAN STEPS HAS BEEN TO PRESERVE

THE INTEGRITY OF THE NUCLEAR AGREEMENT, THOUGH IT
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NOTES THAT AN ADDED IMPORTANT OBJECTIVE IS TO PROTECT
THE AUTHORITY OF PRESIDENT GEISEL AGAINST PREMATURE
INTRUSIONS BY THOSE INTERESTED IN DEFINING IN THE
SHORT TERM THE LINES OF THE SUCCESSION.

6. JORNAL DO BRASIL REPORTED THAT FINANCE MINISTER
SIMONSEN REVEALED THAT THE PRESIDENT CONSULTED BOTH
SIMONSEN AND MINISTER FOR PLANNING VELLOSO ABOUT
POSSIBLE US ECONOMIC RETALIATION BEFORE DENOUNCING THE
1952 MUTUAL DEFENSE ASSISTANCE AGREEMENT. BOTH MINISTERS
ALLEGEDLY EXPLAINED THAT NO SPECIFIC ACTION WAS
EXPECTED IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD
AND EMPHASIZED THAT BRAZIL WOULD CONTINUE TO RECEIVE LOANS
FROM THE WORLD BANK AND INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK.
JORNAL INDICATED THAT THE TWO MINISTERS WILL MONITOR THE
SITUATION ON BEHALF OF THE PRESIDENT TO HELP HIM
DETERMINE GOB OPTIONS SHOULD THE USG TAKE
RETALIATORY ECONOMIC ACTIONS. JORNAL SAID VELLOSO HAS
TAKEN SOUNDINGS AMONG BUSINESS LEADERS WHO WERE OF THE
OPINION THAT PROBLEMS RELATED TO THE MILITARY AND
NUCLEAR AGREEMENTS WOULD NOT INTERFERE WITH PRIVATE
SECTOR RELATIONS.

7. SEVERAL PAPERS REFERRED IN DETAIL TO PARIS' LE
MONDE LEAD EDITORIAL OF MARCH 12, WHICH AFFIRMED THAT
BRAZIL'S DECISION WAS ONE MORE STEP IN THE ESCALATION
OF CONFLICT BETWEEN IT AND THE UNITED STATES," AND
DEMONSTRATED THE "GROWING EMANCIPATION OF THE LEADING
STATE IN SOUTH AMERICA"--A LUXURY ITS NEIGHBORS LIKE
ARGENTINA AND URUGUAY COULD NOT AFFORD. O GLOBO ARTICLE
MARCH 14 QUOTED "HIGH SOURCE" IN FRENCH DEFENSE MINISTRY
AS STATING THAT MINISTRY DID NOT EXPECT IMMEDIATE
CHANGES IN ARMAMENTS SALES TO BRAZIL BECAUSE RECENT
EVENTS WILL NOT AFFECT BRAZIL-US COMMERCIAL RELATIONS.
US WILL THEREFORE CONTINUE BEING LARGEST SOURCE OF
ARMS. HOWEVER, ALTERATIONS COULD OCCUR SHOULD USG
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DECREE AND EMBARGO ON ALL ARMS SALES TO BRAZIL, IN WHICH
CASE "WE WOULD PROCEED TO STUDY THE QUESTION." SOURCE
ADDED THAT IF BRAZIL WISHES TO BE SELF-SUFFICIENT IN
ARMAMENTS, FRANCE CAN "FURNISH ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY IN
THIS FIELD. OUR POLICY IS PRAGMATIC AND COMMERCE WITH

A GIVEN COUNTRY DOES NOT GIVE US THE RIGHT TO INTERFERE
IN ITS INTERNAL AFFAIRS." SOURCE PROFESSED TO SEE GRAVE
CONSEQUENCES FOR HEMISPHERIC DEFENSE IN GOB DECISION TO
TERMINATE SECURITY ASSISTANCE AGREEMENT.

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8. CONGRESSIONAL COMMENT WAS LIGHT AND, WITH TWO
EXCEPTIONS, NOT NOTEWORTHY. SENATOR MAGALHAES PINTO
MARCH 14 DENIED ANY CONNECTION BETWEEN DISPUTE OVER
NUCLEAR ACCORD AND GOB DECISION ON MILITARY ASSISTANCE,
TERMING LATTER SOLELY THE RESULT OF MODIFICATIONS IN
US LEGISLATION REQUIRING THE HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT.
SENATOR GILVAN ROCHA, MDB VICE LEADER IN SENATE,
DECLARED THAT HUMAN RIGHTS WAS A SUBJECT OF INTEREST
TO THE COUNTRY AND THEREFORE THE CONGRESS SHOULD STUDY
THE US REPORT ATTENTIVELY, TO DETERMINE "WHAT CORRESPONDS
TO NATIONAL REALITY."

9. LEADING COLUMN IN JORNAL DO BRASIL OF MARCH 14 DECLARED
THAT WHAT IS NOTABLE IN REPORT IS COLD ANALYTICAL TONE
AND "OPTIMISTIC" TREATMENT OF GEISEL GOVERNMENT, WHICH
RENDERS "INEXPLICABLE" THE FACT THAT AMIDST PATRIOTIC
UPROAR OF PAST WEEK, THERE HAS BEEN NO MOVEMENT OF
OPINION WHICH POINTS OUT INCOMPATIBILITY BETWEEN POLICIES OF
CURRENT REGIME AND THOSE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS PERMITTED UNDER
ITS LAWS. OPPOSITION TO US HAS BEEN EXPLOITED "WITH A
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POTENTIALLY JOCOBIN ENTHUSIASM," CONTINUES COLUMN, BUT MORE PROMISING AREA TO EXPLOIT WAS SUGGESTED BY DOCUMENT ITSELF, IN POINTING OUT OPPOSITION OF CURRENT GOVERNMENT TO ABUSES: PRESIDENT'S SUPPORTERS SHOULD STRESS THIS LINE, TO LEAVE CLEAR THAT WHAT IS BEING REPUDIATED IS FOREIGN INTERFERENCE, NOT A UNIVERSAL PREOCCUPATION WITH HUMAN RIGHTS. REACTING ONLY TO THE DOCUMENT, ARTICLE CONCLUDES, WOULD RUN RISK OF LEADING COUNTRY INTO "FALSE COMPANIONSHIP" AND TOTALITARIAN INFLUENCES OF REGIMES WHICH, UNLIKE THE GEISEL GOVERNMENT, REFUSE TO CONSIDER HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTION.

10. COLUMN IN FOLHA DE SAO PAULO OF MARCH 14 POINTS TO DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL CRITICISM OF CARTER'S HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN (INCLUDING VOICES OF TRADITIONAL FRIENDS); DECLARED GREAT FLAW IN CAMPAIGN IS WASTEFUL AND INDISCRIMINATE DISPERSION OF EFFORT IN ALL DIRECTIONS, RATHER THAN PROPER FOCUS ON USSR, WHICH IS PRINCIPAL DIRECT OR INDIRECT SOURCE OF VIOLATIONS BY BOTH SOCIALIST AND RIGHT-WING REGIME REACTING DEFENSIVELY TO SUBVERSION; AND CONCLUDED THAT WHILE DISPUTE CARRIES DANGERS OF REACTION WITHIN BRAZIL AND SUSPICIONS BY INTERNATIONAL OPINION OF GOB ATTEMPT AT "COVER UP" OF HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION, IT IS AN ISOLATED INCIDENT WHICH WILL NOT BURGEON INTO A CRISIS BETWEEN US AND BRAZIL.

11. IN EDITORIAL ENTITLED "RISKS OF MOBILIZATION," O ESTADO WARNED IN MARCH 13 EDITORIAL OF RE-EMERGENCE OF ANTI-AMERICANISM IN BRAZIL, NOTING THAT PRETEXT FOR THIS WAS US PRESSURE AGAINST NUCLEAR ACCORD AND HUMAN RIGHTS LEGISLATIVE REQUIREMENT IMPOSED BY US CONGRESS. O ESTADO ADDED THAT CAUTION HAD COME TO DOMINATE DECISION MAKING. PAPER SAID IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO DISASSOCIATE REACTION AGAINST NUCLEAR ACCORD PRESSURES FROM REACTION AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE, NOR TO DISTINGUISH

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LEGITIMATE GOB RESPONSE TO PRESSURE FROM DESIRE TO AVOID DISCUSSION OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY OF PAINFULLY TOUCHY ISSUES FOR THE GOVERNMENT.

12. O ESTADO ADDED THAT ADMINISTRATIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF DENUNCIATION OF MUTUAL DEFENSE ASSISTANCE ACCORD WILL FURTHER FAN FLAMES OF NATIONALISM AMONG MOST BELLICOSE

ELEMENTS IN BRAZIL. PAPER SAW PRESIDENTIAL ACTION IN DENOUNCING ACCORD AS HAVING TWO OBJECTIVES: (1) TO REAFFIRM ABROAD BRAZILIAN SOVEREIGNTY AND MONALIGNMENT, AND (2) TO CAPITALIZE INTERNALLY ON THE POLITICAL EFFECTS OF THE REBIRTH OF NATIONALISM. THE PURPOSE OF THE LATTER IS (A) TO PRE-DISPOSE THE BRAZILIAN MIDDLE CLASS TO ACCEPT THE SACRIFICE THAT THE ECONOMIC SITUATION DEMANDS, AND (B) TO DIVERT THE COMPLAINTS OF THOSE PRESSING FOR POLITICAL REFORMS TO IMAGINARY FOREIGN ENEMY. IN DISCOVERING THE EXISTENCE OF "NATIONAL WILL" IN THE FACE OF THE CRISIS WITH THE US, THE GOVERNMENT, ACCORDING TO O ESTADO, HAS REDISCOVERED THAT NO PLAN TO AFFIRM NATIONAL POWER IS SUSTAINED WITHOUT THE OBJECTIVE SUPPORT OF THE NATION. UNFORTUNATELY, IT ADDS, SINCE 1964 THE CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY HAVE SO ATROPHIED AS TO BLOCK ACHIEVEMENT OF A CONSENSUS APPROACHING "NATIONAL WILL." UNTIL THIS PROBLEM OF RESPONSIBLE PARTICIPATION IS RESOLVED, THE GOVERNMENT WILL SPEAK IN VAIN OF "NATIONAL WILL." O ESTADO SEES THE PRESIDENT AS HAVING THE ABILITY TO OPEN UP NATIONAL COMMUNICATION. PAPER CONCLUDED THAT GRAVE DANGER OF SITUATION NOW CREATED IS THAT NATIONALIST BANNER GOVERNMENT HAS UNFURLED MAY BE USURPED BY (SINISTER) FORCES ALWAYS READY TO FURTHER THEIR OWN POLITICAL OBJECTIVES.

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